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No. 29

SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY

BY
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INTRODUCTION.

The specimens of calligraphy described and illustrated hereafter are preserved in the Delhi Museum.[1] They include 20 manuscripts and 80 loose sheets mounted on cardboard and locally termed *waslīs*, which are in most cases beautifully illuminated. These manuscripts and *waslīs*, comprising the writings of not less than 100 calligraphists, represent seven different styles, *viz.* (1) *Kūfic*, (2) *Thulth*,[2] (3) *Naskh*, (4) *Nastaʿlīq*, (5) *Shikasta*, (6) *Tughrā* and (7) *Khaṭ-i-Ghubār*, which have been treated separately, with the specimens of each arranged in chronological sequence. An attempt has been made to supplement the description of each specimen with a biographical account of the calligraphist whose writing it represents. There are, however, certain calligraphists who are so far unknown, and specimens of their writing, to which no date could be assigned with certainty, have been dealt with at the end of the respective styles to which they belong. It will be seen from the biographical accounts of the calligraphists that most of them were attached to the courts of the Mughal emperors; but specimens of writing of the princes Dārā Shikoh and Shāh Shujāʿ, and of Bahādur Shāh, the last Mughal emperor, are perhaps the most interesting, being a concrete proof of the fact that the Mughal princes were given a regular training in the art of calligraphy. Among the manuscripts, the *Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān deserves special attention, as it consists of a collection of numerous original compositions and extracts from standard Persian works transcribed by several calligraphists of the time. In order to make readers familiar with the various styles of writing reproduced here, there has been added a short discourse on the palæographic changes of the Arabic character and the development of Muslim calligraphy in India. This discourse does not pretend to embrace a thorough treatment of the subject, but presents only an outline of the Muslim palæography of India, explaining the forces which have influenced the development of the various styles.

I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude to Maulvi Ashfaq Ali for his valuable assistance in gathering material for this memoir.

ZAFAR HASAN.

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[1] Nos. 4 and 7 are the private property of the author.

[2] There is no separate specimen of the *Thulth* style in the Delhi Museum collection; readers may refer to the gilded lines of the Qurān (illustration No. 3) which are written in that style.

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SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN THE DELHI MUSEUM.

Origin of the Arabic writing.

The origin of the Arabic writing is obscure. According to some authorities it was derived from the Nabatæon script towards the beginning of the sixth century A.D.,[1] while others attribute its origin to the Syriac writing.[2] The dots and vowel marks were, undoubtedly, borrowed from the latter, and it is probably on this ground that it is supposed to have originated from that script.

***Kufic* character.**

There has been a common belief that the primitive form of the Arabic writing was *Kūfic*, and that *Naskh* was a subsequent development of the same.[3] But the fact is that both these scripts existed side by side as early as the beginning of Islām. The stiff angular shape of the *Kūfic* character prohibited its use for ordinary purposes of life, and it was consequently reserved for copies of the *Qurān* and inscriptions on stone and coins. In the beginning it was simple, but unrelated as it was to the needs of practical life, it was cultivated as an artificial script, and gradually assumed such a fantastic decorative shape that by the sixth century Hijra (twelfth century A.D.) it was difficult for common people to read it, and none except professional calligraphists were able to transcribe it. A reaction started against it, with the result that as early as the 7th century Hijra (13th century A.D.) it almost disappeared from the whole Muslim world. This explains the scarcity of Kūfic Qurāns and inscriptions in India, where the Muslim power was not consolidated until the beginning of that century. The few *Kūfic* inscriptions which are to be found on early Muhammadan buildings[4] in India are generally of a religious nature and mainly serve a decorative purpose. It may be remarked here that the name *Kūfic* has been derived from Kūfa, which is one of the oldest Muslim cities in Arabia.

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[1] *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 381.

[2] *Tārīkh i Dawal-i-'Arab* by Ṭal'at Bey, Anwār-i Aḥmadī Press, Allahabad, 1315, p. 58.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 56, see also *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 99, and *Mirat-i-Āftāb Numa* by Shāh Nawāz Khān (manuscript copy in the possession of the author) folios 132*b*-133*a*.

[4] The Qūwatu-l-Islām mosque (587 A.H.= 1191 A.D.) and the tombs of Sulṭān Ghārī (629 A.H.= 1231—32 A.D.) and the emperor Altamsh or Iltutmish (circa 633 A.H.= 1235 A.D.) at Delhi bear Qurānic inscriptions written in ornamental *Kūfic*, termed by Van Berchem "*Coufique fleuri.*" The only Kūfic inscription of historical interest is on the west wall of the *Arhāī Din kā Jhonprā* mosque at Ajmer. It is dated 596 A.H. (1200 A.D.).

Naskh character.

Naskh is a round script distinct from *Kūfic*, which is angular. Originally it was used by the Arabs for ordinary purposes, but it developed side by side with the artificial *Kūfic* script until it reached the culminating point of its growth, and replaced the latter in the 6th century A.H. (12th century A.D.). The great attention paid by the Arabs to the development of their script gave rise to many styles, but these were only products of the ingenuity of various calligraphists and did not differ from the main script in any essential point. Abu-l-Faẓl's description of the Arabic scripts *Thulth*, *Naskh*, *Tauqī'*, *Riqā'*, *Muḥaqqaq* and *Raiḥān*, which are stated by him to have been derived from the same origin,[1] clearly indicates that their variation from each other was merely conventional. He writes: "The *Suls* and the *Naskh* consist each of one-third curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the *suls*) is *jalī*,[2] whilst the latter (the *naskh*) is *khafī*. The *Tauqī'* and *Riqā'* consist of three-fourths curved lines, and one-fourth straight lines; the former is *jalī*, the latter is *khafī*. The *Muḥaqqaq* and *Raiḥān* contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is *jalī*, and the *Raiḥān khafī*."[3]

Nasta'līq character.

In Persia the Arabic writing was subjected to a modification under the influence of the old *Pahlwī* writing of that country, and led to the development of a new script, the *Ta'līq*, in the 7th century A. H. (13th century A.D.). The latter did not remain long in use, having been replaced by *Nasta'līq* which evolved from *Naskh* and *Ta'līq* in the next century. *Nasta'līq* is a rounder script than *Naskh*, and this characteristic is particularly noticeable from the letters ending in curves, which are more circular in the one than in the other. Abu-l-Faẓl writes: "It (*Nasta'līq* character) consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mīr 'Alī of Tabrīz, a contemporary of Tīmūr (1369-1404 A.D.), derived it from the Naskh and Ta'līq; but this can scarcely be correct, because there exist books in the Nasta'līq character, written before Tīmūr's time."[4] Owing to the artistic gifts of the Persians, *Nasta'līq* soon developed to a high state of perfection. But it was not until the advent of Mughal rule that its use prevailed in India,[5] having replaced as in Persia the *Naskh* character, which has since been reserved here almost exclusively for religious works.

***Shikasta* script.**

Shikasta is only a variation of *Nasta'līq*. It is a cursive script, which is difficult to read owing to omission of dots and too much use of ligatures. The date of its evolution is unknown; presumably it arose a little later than *Naskh*.

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[1] Abu-l-Faẓl states that all these scripts including *Naskh* were derived from *Kūfic* by Ibn-i-Muqlah in the year 310 A.H. (922-23 A.D.). But the ancient papyri (*vide* Moritz's *Arabic Palæography* plates 100-106) lately discovered, have conclusively proved the fact that *Naskh* has been as old as *Kūfic*, having its origin independent of the other. Apparently the five remaining scripts of Abu-l-Faẓl were derived from *Naskh*.

[2] *Jalī* (clear) is a term used by the copyists to express that letters are thick and written with a pen full of ink. *Khafī* (hidden) is the opposite.

[3] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 101.

[5] Abu-l-Faẓl remarks that, during the time of Akbar, *Nasta'līq* received a new impetus (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102).

The author of the *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*[1] (folio 11(*a*)) followed by the *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān* (pp. 105-6) states that it was invented during the reign of the emperor Jahāngīr (1605-27 A.D.) by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain, the son of Mirzā Shakrullah, a Persian refugee in the court of the emperor Akbar. Abu-l-Faẓl makes no reference to *Shikasta*, and one is at first inclined to give credit to the above statement, believing that it had not come into existence before his time. This view, however, cannot be correct, as there exists in the Delhi Museum a *farmān* of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, the grandfather of the emperor Bābar, which is dated as early as 868 A.H. (1464 A.D.) and is written in fine *Shikasta* character (see illustration No. 90). It is likely that the style was not known in India until Jahāngīr's time, and Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain might have been responsible for introducing it here.

Other scripts

Kūfic, *Naskh*, *Nasta'līq* and *Shikasta* are the main styles of the Arabic character familiar to Indian Muslims, the first two being attributed to Arabic writing and the latter to Persian. The names of a large number of other scripts are also quoted, but they refer only to calligraphical systems, belonging otherwise to one or other of the above four main styles. As an instance it may be noticed that the specimens No. 103 and No. 104 are written strictly in the *Naskh* character, but the artificial arrangements of the script in them are termed *Tughrā* and *Ghubār* respectively.

Muslim calligraphy.

Calligraphy has been a favourite art of the Muslims, cultivated among them from a very early period on account of their great interest in the development of their script. It has played a very conspicuous part in the field of decoration. The reason for this is at once apparent when we remember that the representation of living things is forbidden by the Islamic religion, and the orthodox Muslim artists had therefore to confine the outlet of their artistry almost exclusively to calligraphy. Like other Muslim countries the art flourished in India from the earliest period of its conquest by Muhammadans, a fact to which testimony is borne by the beautiful inscriptions adorning their early buildings. It was not, however, until the Mughal period that the art of calligraphy attained the highest development in this country.[2] The patronage of the Mughal emperor induced many Persian calligraphists to immigrate to India, and under the influence of their foreign masters, Indians also (Muhammadans as well as Hindūs) were not slow to make themselves accomplished in it. Specimens of the writing of many Indian calligraphists are to be met with, which in excellence and beauty of style compete with the works of Persian experts. The interest of the Mughal emperors in calligraphy can be judged from the fact that it formed an important factor in the training of princes. 'Abdu-r Rashīd Daiłmī is related to have been appointed tutor of Dārā Shikoh on his arrival from Persia, and the prince under his training became proficient in

[1] A manuscript in possession of the author. It is said to have been compiled by Nawab Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Khān of Loharū, but corresponds verbatim in many places to the other work on the same subject, the *Tadhkira-i Khushnawīsān* of Maulānā Ghulām Muḥammad Haft Qalamī of Delhi. The latter was edited with prefaces and notes by M. Hidāyat Ḥusain and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1910.

[2] Abu-l-Faẓl says: "His Majesty shews much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful calligraphists" (*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102).

the art.[1] Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb[2] also enjoyed a reputation for handwriting. The latter, it is known to history, used to copy the *Qurān* as a religious practice even when he occupied the throne and had much state business to attend to.[3] There are three specimens of the writing of the princes Dārā Shikoh and Shāh Shujā' in the Delhi Museum collection (*vide infra* Nos. 41-43) which can stand comparison with the works of the best calligraphists of the period.

The art of calligraphy has now been neglected in India, and it is dying out on account of the introduction of the printing press and the growing demand for English education. It is regrettable that it has failed to draw the attention of modern scholars, who have not endeavoured to make a systematic study of its development in this country and to place on record the names of the calligraphists who brought it to perfection. There are one or two small treatises on the subject, but they contain only biographical notices of calligraphists, in general, without any illustration of their writings, thus not enabling the reader to judge of their respective merits and to mark the development or decline of the art at different periods in India.

A SPECIMEN OF THE KŪFIC CHARACTER.

No. 1.—A leaf from a copy of the *Qurān* probably of the 3rd century A.H. (9th century A.D.). It contains verses 78-80 of the *Sūra* IX written on parchment with the characteristic that the consonants have no dots, while vowel marks are indicated by dots of red colour. The punctuation is marked by a rosette of gold colour which, however, does not occur after every verse. For similar specimens reference may be made to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (article on Arabia), plate IV, No. 2, and *Arabic Palæography* by B. Moritz, plates 37, 38, 40 and 42.

SPECIMENS OF THE NASKH CHARACTER.

No. 2.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Yāqūt-al-Musta'ṣimī and dated 680 A.H. (1281-82 A.D.). Jalālu-d-Dīn, better known as Yāqūt-al-Musta'ṣimī, was the court calligraphist of al-Musta'ṣim Billāh, the last Abbasid Caliph of Baghdād. He achieved great fame for his skill in penmanship. A script called *Yāqūtī* derives its name from him, but this refers more to his style than to any innovation in the written character.[4] He has been acknowledged as one of the earliest masters of the art of calligraphy, and his style is much appreciated in India and Persia. He professed the Shī'a faith, for which reason he was imprisoned by the Caliph, but was released after three years. It is related that on the day when Baghdād was put to general massacre by

[1] *Tadhkira-i Khushnawīsān*, p. 58.

[2] *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgīrī* by Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengali 1871). p. 532.

[3] *History of Aurangzeb* by Jadunath Sarkar, vol. I, pp. 5-6.

[4] *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 386.

Halākū Khān, Yāqūt took refuge on a *mīnār* and busied himself in the practice of calligraphy. He was soon joined by a friend who remarked, "What sort of man are you, that at such a critical time, when a general massacre is going on in the city, you are busy in the practice of writing?" Yāqūt in reply said, "How foolish you are not to understand that those who are destined to be killed will be massacred." Yāqūt died at Baghdād in the year 697 A.H.[1] (1297-98 A.D.) at the advanced age of more than 120 years.[2]

No. 3.—A *Qurān* written in characters of a transition style between *Kūfic* and *Naskh*, and said to have belonged to the 8th century H. (14th century A.D.). This style (commonly known as Khaṭ-i-Bihār) is believed to have evolved at a very early period in India, and the fact that not a single specimen of it has been illustrated in Moritz's Arabic Palæography confirms the belief that it was not known in Arabia, Persia or Egypt. But it could not hold its ground against the *Naskh* which had already reached a high state of perfection in Persia, and which gradually came to prevail in India. The *Qurān* has a double page *'unwān*[3] with three gilded lines at the top, centre and bottom written in the *Thulth* character. The word *Allāh* throughout the volume is also transcribed in gold, and so are the punctuation marks, which consist of ornamented circles and occur after every verse. The manuscript was acquired from a member of an old family of the town of Amroha, district Moradabad (U.P.), who trace their descent from Shāh Wilāyat, a well-known saint of the place. A story is related by tradition among the family that the manuscript was given in dowry by the emperor Fīroz Shāh (1351-1388 A.D.) to his daughter, who was married to a son of the saint. Sir Aurel Stein, a great authority on the antiquities of Central Asia, expresses his opinion that its paper is of Bukhārā manufacture, and undoubtedly as old as related by tradition.

No. 4.—A *Qurān* similar to the above in all its characteristics, except that it does not contain the three gilded lines on each page, and presumably of the same period. A few of its pages at the beginning and end are later additions written in a different hand, while some pages in the middle of the volume are illuminated with gold and colour. It belongs to the author but has been noticed here as another specimen of the *Qurāns* of this type which seem to have been once popular in India.

No. 5.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Afẓal who calls himself "Dārā Shikohī"[4] (the servant or slave of Dārā Shikoh), and "al-Bukhārī" (the resident of Bukhārā). It was transcribed at Kābul in the year 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.) when the prince was undertaking the siege of Qandahār.

No. 6.—A *Ḥimāyal* (or small *Qurān*) with three double-page profusely ornamented *'unwāns* and the interlineal spaces adorned throughout with gold.

[1] The author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān* (p. 24) places the death of Yāqūt in the year 698 A.H. (1298-99 A.D.).

[2] *Mirat-i-Āftāb Numā* by Shāh Nawāz Khān (manuscript copy in the possession of the author), folios 134(*a*) and (*b*).

[3] Title-page or frontispiece of a book generally gilded and highly ornamented.

[4] Dārā Shikoh was the eldest son of Shāhjahān, for his account see No. 41.

It does not bear the date or the name of the scribe, but is traditionally related to have been written by Ḥaddād. It is a family relic of the present writer to whom it belongs, but has been noticed here since there is no specimen of Ḥaddād's writing in the Delhi Museum collection.

'Abdu-l-Bāqī, better known as Ḥaddād, was invited from his native country Persia, by Aurangzeb towards the close of the reign of the emperor Shāhjahān (1628-58 A.D.). On his arrival in India he presented several of his writings including a *Qurān* on 30 leaves, to the royal inspection, and was given the title of "Yāqūt Raqam."[1] The author of *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān* says that he saw a copy of the *Qurān* transcribed by Ḥaddād on 30 leaves, and adds that he was matchless in *Khaṭ-i-Khafī* (thin writing), which in spite of its fineness had the characteristic of being so distinct as to be clearly readable by all, whether young or old.[2] The *Ḥimāyal* under notice is an excellent specimen of *Khaṭ-i-Khafī*. Ḥaddād returned to his native country, but he left many pupils who maintained his style very late in India.

No. 7.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by 'Alī Akbar, the son of 'Abdu-l Bāqī Ḥaddād.

No. 8.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and written by 'Alī Asghar, another son of 'Abdu-l-Bāqī Ḥaddād.

No. 9.—A *Qurān* with a double-page *'unwān* written by Muḥammad 'Ārif Yāqūt Raqam Khān and dated 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.).

Muḥammad 'Ārif entitled Yāqūt Raqam Khān was a native of Hirāt and the best of the pupils of 'Abdu-l-Bāqī Ḥaddād in India. He was instructor of the sons of the emperor Aurangzeb who learnt *Naskh* writing from him and *Nasta'līq* from Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Jawāhir Raqam (see No. 40). The author of *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān* (folio 4a) writes that he saw illuminated copies of the *Qurān* and *Panj Sūra*[3] transcribed excellently by the princes after Muḥammad 'Ārif's style. The title of Yāqūt Raqam Khān is said to have been conferred upon him by the emperor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh.[4]

No. 10.—A *waṣlī* written with red ink and sparingly adorned with gold. It was transcribed by 'Ibādullah, sister's son and pupil of Muḥammad 'Ārif Yāqūt Raqam Khān.[5]

No. 11.—A *waṣlī* written by Qāẓī 'Iṣmatullah who was a pupil of Muḥammad 'Arif Yāqūt Raqam Khān (see No. 9). The Qāẓī achieved greater fame for his skill in calligraphy than his teacher and wrote both *Khafī* (thin) and *Jalī* (bold) with surpassing excellence. He died in 1186 A.H. (1772-73 A.D.).[6]

No. 12.—A *waṣlī* written by Faiẓullah, who was the elder brother of Qāẓī 'Iṣmatullah and a very good hand in *Naskh*.[7] The name of his teacher is

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 124.

[2] *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 4(*a*).

[3] A collection of five *Sūras* of the *Qurān*.

[4] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 126, n. 1.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 127, n. 2.

[6] *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 4(*a*); *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 127.

[7] *Ibid*.

not known ; possibly like his brother he was a pupil of Muḥammad 'Ārif Yāqūt Raqam Khān.

No. 13.—A *waṣlī* written by Sayyid Imām 'Alī Riẓvī who was one of the calligraphists in the service of the crown prince Mirzā Abū Ẓafar afterwards known as Bahādur Shāh II. He wrote after the style of Qāẓī 'Iṣmatullah[1] (see No. 11).

No. 14.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Jalālu-d-Dīn Riẓvī, the son of Sayyid Imām 'Alī Riẓvī. He followed the style of his father, like whom he was in the service of the crown prince Mirzā Abū Ẓafar.[2]

No. 15.—A *waṣlī* partly in *Naskh* and partly in Ṭughrā written by Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal emperor of Delhi (1837-57 A.D.). He was much interested in calligraphy and could write several scripts, but had special tact in *Naskh* which he wrote after the style of Qāẓī 'Iṣmatullah.[3] It is related that His Majesty had many pupils in calligraphy, each of whom, like his pupils in poetry and his disciples in *Ṣūfīism*, received a monthly allowance of Rs. 3 from the royal court.

No. 16.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and written by Muhammad Humāyūn, who is related to have been a prince of the royal Mughal family, living about the middle of the last century.

No. 17.—A prayer book with a double-page *'unwān* and the interlineal spaces throughout adorned with gold. It was written by Āqā Mīr Ḥusain of Shīrāz and is dated 1249 A.H. (1833-34 A.D.).

No. 18.—A *waṣlī* written by 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān.

No. 19.—A *waṣlī* written by Asad 'Alī.

No. 20.—A *waṣlī* written by Shamsu-d-Dīn 'Āṣī.

No. 21.—A book of prayers, entitled *Ṣaḥīfa-i Kāmila*, with illuminated borders.

SPECIMENS OF THE NASTA'LĪQ CHARACTER.

No. 22.—A *waṣlī* written by Mīr 'Alī, possibly Mīr 'Alī of Tabrīz, who was a contemporary of Amīr Tīmūr (1369-1404 A.D.). He was the most famous calligraphist, who added a great deal to the development of the Nasta'līq style by laying down principles for it, and it is for this reason that he is given by some the credit of inventing that style.[4]

No. 23.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Sulṭān 'Alī. Several calligraphists of this name are known to have flourished in Persia, of whom Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad has been the most famous in India, and it is not improbable that this *waṣlī* is his work. Abu-l-Faẓl says that Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad surpassed all calligraphists in *Nasta'līq*. He imitated the writing of Maulānā Aẓhar, a pupil of Mīr 'Alī (see No. 22), though he did not learn it from him personally. Six of his pupils are well-known, *viz.*, Sulṭān Muhammad

[1] *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 5(*a*) ; *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 129.

[2] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 129.

[3] *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 4(*b*).

[4] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 48-49 ; *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 101.

Khandān, Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr (see No. 24), Maulānā 'Alāu-d-Dīn of Hirāt, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn of Nishāpūr, Maulānā 'Abdī of Nishāpūr and Muḥammad Qāsim Shādī Shāh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities. Authorities differ about the date of his death, which took place according to some in 902 A.H. (1496-97 A.D.), while others place it in 910 A.H. (1504-5 A.D.) and in 919 A.H. (1513-14 A.D.).[1]

No. 24.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr, who was one of the six prominent pupils of Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad.[2]

No. 25.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Mīr 'Alīu-l-Kātib, who was a Sayyid by caste and a native of Hirāt. He was an accomplished scholar and an excellent poet, but his greatest fame is due to his skill in penmanship. He gave a new impetus to the art of calligraphy on which subject he composed two books entitled "*Rasmu-l-Khaṭ*" and "*Khaṭ-u-Sawād*." Abu-l-Faẓl makes the following remarks about him: "Besides these, there is a great number of other good caligraphists, who are famous for their skill in Nastā'līq as Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī of Qāyin[3]; Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad[4]; Maulānā Hijrānī[5] and after them the illustrious Maulānā Mīr 'Alī, the pupil, as it appears, of Maulānā Zainuddīn. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad. The new method which he established is a proof of his genius; he has left many master-pieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Maulānā.[6] He said, 'I have brought his writing to perfection; but yet his method has a peculiar charm.' "[7] The emperor Jahāngīr is related to have possessed a very fine and authentic collection of the specimens of his writing. Mīr 'Alīu-l-Kātib lived for some time in the court of 'Abdullah Khān Uzbak as an instructor of his son Momin Khān, but as the climate of Bukhārā did not suit his health, he secured permission to leave it on pretence of going abroad to see the world. He died in the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).[8]

No. 26.—*Tīmūr Nāmah*, or the history of Tīmūr, by Maulānā 'Abdullah Hātifī, with an illuminated heading and five miniatures in Persian style and dated 892 A.H. (1487 A.D.).

No. 27.—*Bostān* of Sa'dī with a double-page *'unwān* and dated 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.). It bears at the end a seal impression of Rāi Kūnwar Sain,

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 42-43; *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, pp. 101-2.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 25.

[3] Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī of Qāyin was an instructor of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā's children and died in 914 A.H. (1508-9 A.D.).

[4] See No. 23.

[5] Maulānā Hijrānī was a friend of Amīr 'Alī Sher, the prime-minister of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā. He died in 921 A.H. (1515-16 A.D.).

[6] Maulānā Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad.

[7] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102.

[8] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 49-54. Some authorities place the death of 'Alīu-l-Kātib in the year 951 A.H. (1544-45 A.D.) and 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) (see Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum by Charles Rieu, vol. II, p. 531).

who seems to have been the keeper of the wardrobe to Shāh 'Ālam II, with an endorsement that it was placed in the royal wardrobe.

No. 28.—*Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ* with an *'unwān* written by 'Ināyatullah of Shīrāz and dated 985 A.H. (1577-78 A.D.). Like No. 27 it has also at the end a seal impression of Rāi Kūnwar Sain with the same endorsement.

No. 29.—*Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausī written in four gold-ruled columns with a double-page *'unwān* and numerous miniatures in Persian style. It does not bear the date of transcription, but on the flyleaf there are a few endorsements referring to its purchase dated as early as 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

No. 30.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Shāh Mahmūd of Nīshāpūr. He is mentioned by Abu-l-Faẓl among the calligraphists famous for their skill in *Nasta'līq*.[1]

No. 31.—A *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Ḥusain Zarrīn Qalam, a native of Kashmīr and the court calligraphist of the emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.). Abu-l-Faẓl (*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, pp. 102-3) writes about him as follows: "The artist who, in the shadow of the throne of His Majesty, has become a master of calligraphy, is Muhammad Husain of Kashmīr. He has been honoured with the title of *Zarrīnqalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Maulānā 'Abdu-l-'Azīz; his *Maddāt* and *Dawāir*[2] shew everywhere a proper portion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mīr 'Alī."[3]

No. 32.—A *waṣlī* written by Muhammad 'Alī, the son of Muḥammad Ḥusain Zarrīn Qalam. He wrote as excellently as his father, and had a special skill in *Khaṭ-i-Jalī*.[4]

No. 33.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz, who was a famous calligraphist and teacher of the celebrated 'Imād.[5] (See No. 35.)

No. 34.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Ḥusain, Al-Kātib who is probably the same as Muhammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz.

No. 35.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by 'Imād. Mīr 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, a native of Qazwīn, was the most celebrated Persian calligraphist of the Ṣafvī period. He led the simple life of a dervish at Iṣfahān and never cared for rank or wealth. A story is told that Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia once offered him 70 Tūmāns (a Persian gold coin) expressing a desire that he should transcribe a copy of the *Shāhnāmah* for him. A year after, when an enquiry was made if the book was finished, he sent to the emperor the first 70 verses of the work with a message that the amount granted by His Majesty covered the wages for transcribing as many lines only. The emperor being displeased rejected the transcribed pages and made a demand for the return of the money. Mīr 'Imād forthwith cut asunder those lines and

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[1] *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102.

[2] By *Maddāt* (extensions) calligraphists mean letters like ب, ف and by *Dawāir* (curvatures) letters like ی, ق

[3] For specimens of the writing of Mullā Mīr 'Alī, better known as 'Alī-u-l-Kātib, see No. 25.

[4] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 66.

[5] *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102.

distributed them among 70 of his pupils, who readily contributed a Tūmān each, and provided the required money. The emperor, who had also entertained malice against the calligraphist on account of his *Sunnī* faith,[1] was greatly enraged, and addressing one of his officers named Manṣūr said, "Is there no one to kill this *Sunnī*?" Next morning when 'Imād was going for a bath to the *Ḥammām*, he was murdered by Manṣūr. It is said that he had been informed of the emperor's hostile intention, and in order to appease his wrath had composed and transcribed an apology, which he intended to submit personally after his bath. The apology is in verse and runs as follows:—

(۱) یك یك هنرم بین و گنه ده ده بخش هر جرم که رفت حسبة لله بخش

(۲) از باد غضب آتش کین را مفروز مارا بسر خاک رسول الله بخش

Translation.

1. "Mark my virtues, one by one, and forgive my ten faults for each. Pardon for the sake of God all the crimes I have committed.

2. Do not inflame the fire of enmity with the breath of wrath, but forgive me for the sake of the tomb of the prophet."

'Imād was a pupil of Muhammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz,[2] and followed the style of 'Alīu-l-Kātib which he developed to perfection. The specimens of his writing were held in high estimation in India. The emperor Shāhjahān is related to have taken such a fancy for 'Imād's writing that at the beginning of his reign he used to bestow the rank of one hundred on any one who brought him a specimen of his work. Mīr 'Imād was murdered in the year 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.).[3]

No. 36.—*Chihal Majlis*, a book on *Ṣūfīism*, by 'Alāu-d-Daulah Samnānī, with an illuminated heading and two miniatures. The manuscript is dated 1020 A.H. (1611-12 A.D.) and was transcribed at Agra by 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, entitled *Roshan Qalam* (bright pen). On the fly leaves at the beginning and end there are several seal marks and endorsements, the most important of the former being those of the emperors Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. One of the endorsements is by Shāhjahān, which is dated 8th of Jumāda II of the year 1037 A.H. (14th February 1628 A.D.) and refers to the receipt of the manuscript in the Imperial Library.

'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was a famous calligraphist of the court of Jahāngīr. He had also the title of *'Anbarīn Qalam* (Ambergris Pen) which seems to have been conferred upon him about the year 1022 A.H. (see No. 37).

No. 37.—An illuminated *waṣlī* dated 1022 A.H. (1613-14 A.D.) written by the same scribe, who assumes here the title of *'Anbarīn Qalam* (Ambergris pen) and also calls himself "Jahāngīr Shāhī" (the servant or slave of Jahāngīr).

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[1] *Sunnī* is a sect of Muhammadans who believe the succession of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Uthmān and 'Alī to *Khilāfat* as just and lawful. It is distinguished from the *Shī'a* sect according to whose belief the first three califs were usurpers and 'Alī was the only one who had rightful claims to the *Khilāfat* after the demise of the prophet.

[2] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102, n. 8.

[3] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnauīsān*. pp. 92-3; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnauīsān*, folio 6(*a*).

No. 38.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by 'Arab Shīrāzī. It is dated 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.) and contains prayers for the king 'Abdullah, probably 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh of Golkunḍa, who ruled 1020-1083 A.H. (1611-72 A.D.).

No. 39.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī, better known as Āqā. He was a sister's son and pupil of Mīr 'Imād (see No. 35), after whose murder he migrated to India during the reign of Shāhjahān and was taken into royal favour on account of his skill in penmanship. He was instructor of Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son and the crown prince of Shāhjahān. Zebu-n-Nisā, the talented daughter of the emperor Aurangzeb, is also related to have been one of his pupils. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd died at an advanced age in the year 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) and was buried at Agra.[1]

No. 40.—*Bayāẕ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 44*b*), a specimen of the writing of Sayyid 'Alī, Jawāhir Raqam. He was a native of Tabrīz but came to India during the reign of Shāhjahān, who conferred upon him the title of *Jawāhir Raqam* and appointed him instructor of the prince Aurangzeb. The latter during his reign made him instructor of his sons and Superintendent of the royal library. Jawāhir Raqam generally accompanied the royal retinue, and was with the emperor in the Deccan when he died of insanity in the year 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.). His corpse was brought to Delhi to be buried there. He wrote after the style of Mīr 'Imād (see No. 35) and showed great respect to 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī, there having been a close friendship between the two calligraphists.[2]

Bayāẕ means a note-book, and the volume under notice, which was compiled by Bakhtāwar Khān, contains a collection of numerous original compositions and extracts from standard Persian works transcribed by various well known calligraphists of his time. From the chronogram, contained in the *Bayāẕ* (see Nos. 46 and 48), it is inferred that it was compiled during the years 1082 A.H. (1671-72 A.D.) and 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.), but most of the passages bear dates which range between 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) and 1088 A.H. (1677-78 A.D.). It was, however, never finished, considerable space being left blank to be filled in, and on the folios 715*b*-718*b* is the chronology of Amīr Tīmūr and his descendants, continuing until the year 1119 A.H. (1707-8 A.D.). This was apparently inserted after the death of Bakhtāwar Khān which took place in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.). The *Bayāẕ* is a very fine manuscript with gold border lines, some of its pages being gold-sprinkled and having illuminated headings.

Bakhtāwar Khān was a noble of the court of Aurangzeb. In the 10th year of the reign of that emperor he was promoted to the rank of one thousand, and in the 13th year was made Superintendent of eunuchs. He died on the 15th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal 1096 A.H. (19th February 1685 A.D.). The emperor had so much regard for him that he conducted personally his

[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 95-8; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folios 6(*a*)-7(*b*).

[2] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 56-58.

funeral prayer, and followed his bier for some paces.[1] He was the founder of a *sarāī* known after him in Delhi, and was the author of a historical work entitled Mirat-i-'Ālam, the preface of which has been copied in the *Bayāẕ*.

No. 41.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by the prince Dārā Shikoh. It is dated 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.) and is recorded to have been transcribed for the *Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr* (Chief Judge) Mūsvī Khān.

Dārā Shikoh was the eldest son and crown prince of Shāhjahān. In the year 1658 the emperor suddenly fell ill, and his condition having become precarious, Dārā Shikoh began to contrive measures for securing an easy succession to the throne, which resulted in a civil war among the sons of Shāhjahān. Dārā Shikoh was defeated by Aurangzeb and obliged to fly for his life towards Sindh, where he was captured by the chief of that country and brought to the presence of Aurangzeb. He was then exposed through all the principal places of Delhi and put to death by the order of Aurangzeb in the year 1659. The unfortunate prince was a great patron of art and letters, having made special studies of the Hindū religion which he endeavoured to reconcile with Islām. He caused Persian translations to be made of several Hindū religious works, and was himself author of a few books on his favourite subject of *Ṣufīism*. He also enjoyed great fame for penmanship, and is related to have been one of the best pupils of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī (see No. 39).

Mūsvī Khān was a Sayyid of Mashhad. He was admitted to the court during the reign of Jahāngīr and gradually rose to the rank of two thousand and the office of Chief Judge of the whole Mughal empire in India. Shāhjahān, on his accession, reinstated him in his post and in the 5th year of his reign promoted him to the rank of four thousand.[2] In the 16th year of the reign of that emperor he was discharged from his office on the ground that he did not execute his duties satisfactorily, and a year later died on the 18th of Ṣafar 1054 A.H. (26th April 1644 A.D.).[3]

No. 42.—A *waṣlī* written by the prince Shāh Shujā', the son of Ṣāḥib Qirān-i-Thānī (Shāhjahān), with a remark that it was an imitation of the writing of his teacher, Mīr 'Alī. It was a practice with calligraphists to take a well known penman for a model and imitate his writing until their style was formed on his. The remark in the *waṣlī* refers to this practice, and the prince calls Mīr 'Alī, who is probably Mīr 'Alī of Tabrīz (see No. 22), or Mīr 'Alīu-l-Kātib (see No. 25), his teacher in the sense that he imitated his style.

Shāh Shujā' was the second son of Shāhjahān, appointed governor of Bengal by his father. He also took a prominent part in the civil war between his brothers during the serious illness of Shāhjahān, and marched twice from his

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[1] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* by Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871), p. 253; *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VII, p. 150.

[2] *Bādshāh Nāmah* by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lahaurī (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867-68), vol. I, part , pp. 181, 408-9.

[3] *Maāthiru-l-Umarā* by Ṣamṣāmu-d-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888-91), vol. III, pp. 441-2.

province to try his luck for the throne. Ultimately in the year 1659 he was defeated by Aurangzeb and obliged to seek refuge in Arakan, where, some two years afterwards, he was put in a boat with all his family and sunk in the river by the order of the Rāja of that country.

No. 43.—Another specimen of the writing of Shāh Shujā' beautifully illuminated and transcribed on the back of the picture of that prince.

No. 44.—A *waṣlī* written by Muhammad Muqīm, a famous calligraphist of Shāhjahān's period. He lived in the Kālī Masjid at Delhi and had many pupils in calligraphy. He followed the style of Mīr 'Imād[1] (see No. 35).

No. 45.—A *waṣlī* written by 'Abdullah, who is probably the same as Ḥāfiẓ 'Abdullah of Shāhjahān's period.[2]

No. 46.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 702*a*), a *Qaṭ'a* dated 1082 A.H. (1671-72 A.D.) and written by Muhammad Amīn of Mashhad. It contains a chronogram of the compilation of the *Bayāẓ* composed by Bakhtāwar Khān[3] himself.

No. 47.—A *waṣlī* written by Muhammad Bāqir, who was a court calligraphist of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.). His writing was much appreciated by the emperor.[4]

No. 48.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 565*b*), a *Qaṭ'a* written by Muhammad Ismā'īl, 'Āqil, containing a chronogram which gives 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.) as the date of the compilation of the *Bayāẓ*. He is probably the same as Ḥājjī Ismā'īl who was one of the court calligraphists of Aurangzeb, wrote *farmāns* of that emperor, and had the title of *Roshan Raqam* conferred upon him in the year 1096 A.H.[5] (1685 A.D.).

No. 49.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 64*b*), a specimen of the writing of Sayyid Aḥmad, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 50.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 422*b*), a specimen of the writing of Muḥammad Na'īm of Iṣfahān, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 51.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 532*b*), a specimen of the writing of Muḥammad Ṣādiq, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 52.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 542*a*), a specimen of the writing of Mīr Ḥabībullah, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 53.—A *waṣlī* dated 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.) written by Mūl Rāj.

No. 54.—A *waṣlī* dated 1112 A.H. (1700-01 A.D.) adorned with gold and written by Hidāyatullah. Zarrīn Raqam, who was a pupil of Sayyid 'Alī, Jawāhir Raqam (see No. 40) and court calligraphist of the emperor Aurangzeb. He held the post of the Superintendent of the royal library, and was instructor of the prince Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb, and several other princes of the royal blood. He died in the year 1118 A.H. (1706-07 A.D.).[6]

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 60.

[2] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 91.

[3] For Bakhtāwar Khān and his *Bayāz*, see No. 40.

[4] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 59.

[5] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri* by Muḥammad Sāqi Musta'id Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871), p. 251.

[6] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 58; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 8(*a*).

No. 55.—A *waṣlī* written by Nūrullah. There have been two calligraphists of this name: one Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah (see No. 62) and the other Shaikh Nūrullah who was a pupil of 'Abdu-r Raḥīm, Farmān Nawīs [1] (the scribe of *farmāns*), and lived during the time of Aurangzeb. The *waṣlī* under notice is probably the work of the latter.

No. 56.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Afẓal who was a native of Lahore and lived during the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48 A.D.). He so closely imitated the style of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd, Āqā (see No. 39), that he was called Āqā II.[2]

No. 57.—Ten precepts of Aristotle dated 1138 A. H. (1725-26 A.D.) and written by Afẓalu-l-Ḥusainī, who flourished during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and had been instructor of Mīr Mannū, the son of I'timādu-d-Daulah Qamru-d-Dīn Khān, the prime-minister of that emperor.[3]

No. 58.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Mūsā, a native of Sarhind. He followed the style of Mīr 'Imād (see No. 35) and was one of the court calligraphists of Muḥammad Shāh[4] (1719-48 A.D.).

No. 59.—An illuminated *waṣlī* dated 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) and written by Muḥammad 'Āqil.

No. 60.—An illuminated *waṣlī* dated 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.) and written by Muḥammad 'Alī, who was a court calligraphist of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806 A.D.) and the instructor of his son, the prince Kām Bakhsh. He was a fine calligraphist and wrote after the style of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī [5] (see No. 39).

No. 61.—A *waṣlī* dated 1202 A.H. (1787-88 A.D.) and written by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad 'Alī, the son of Zarrīn Raqam. We know of only one calligraphist who had the title of Zarrīn Raqam, *viz.*, Hidāyatullah, the court calligraphist of Aurangzeb (see No. 54). but he died as early as 1118 A.H. (1706-7 A.D.) and if the scribe of this *waṣlī* was his son, he must have written it at a very advanced age.

No. 62.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah who was an excellent calligraphist following the style of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī (see No. 39). He lived at Lucknow during the time of Nawāb Aṣafu-d-Daulah of Oudh [6] (1775-97 A.D.).

No. 63.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and written by Tajammul Ḥusain Khān, who lived at Lucknow and was a pupil of Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah.[7] Elliot (*History of India*, vol. VIII, p. 413) remarks that in 1244 A. H. (1828-29 A.D.) Tajammul Ḥusain completed *Jinānu-l-Firdaus*, a historical work written by

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 63 ; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 8(*a*).
[2] *Ibid*, p. 60. *Idem*, folio 8(*b*).
[3] *Ibid*. *Idem*.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 61. *Idem*, folio 9(*a*).
[5] *Ibid*, p. 67.
[6] *Ibid*, pp. 64-5. *Idem*, folio 8(*a*).
[7] *Ibid*, p. 111.

Mirzā Muḥammad Yūsuf, an incomplete copy of which was found by him in the library of his patron Mr. Montague Turnbull of the Civil Service.

No. 64.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and written by Sarab Sukh Rāī, who was a native of Lucknow and pupil of Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah.[1]

No. 65.—A *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Bāqir, Zarrīn Qalam (gold pen). We know of two calligraphists of this name: one a court calligraphist of the emperor Aurangzeb (see No. 47), and the other a native of Lucknow, who was father of Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain 'Aṭā Khān (see No. 66) and famous for *Ṭughrā* writing; but neither of them are related to have had the title of *Zarrīn Qalam*. It is not improbable that the latter had this title, like his son, who was called Muraṣṣa' Raqam.[2]

No. 66.—A *waṣlī* dated 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.) and written by Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain 'Aṭā Khān, who was the son of Muḥammad Bāqir Ṭughrā Nawīs (scribe of *Ṭughrā*) and had the title of *Muraṣṣa' Raqam*. He flourished during the reign of Shujā'u-d-Daulah, the Nawāb of Oudh (1753-1775 A.D.), at whose orders he made an Urdū translation of Chahār Darwīsh, a book of fiction containing the story of four dervishes.[3]

No. 67.—A *waṣlī* dated 1202 and written by Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl Sabzwārī, who was a pupil of Muḥammad Ḥafiẓ Khān, a celebrated calligraphist of Muḥammad Shāh's period. He died insane at Delhi.[4]

No. 68.—A *waṣlī* written by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who was a court calligraphist of Akbar Shāh II (1806-37 A.D.) and instructor of his sons.[5]

No. 69.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Mirzā Muḥammad Sulaimān Shikoh. There have been two Mughal princes of this name: one the eldest son of Dārā Shikoh, the son of the emperor Shāhjahān (see No. 41), and the other the son of Shāh 'Ālam II who died in 1838 A.D., and the *waṣlī* seems to be the work of the latter. The name of the prince is in different handwriting, probably transcribed by his teacher.

No. 70.—An illuminated *waṣlī* dated 1257 A.H. (1841-42 A.D.) and written by Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr Riẓvī, better known as Mīr Panjah Kash. He followed the style of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī (see No. 39) and was the most famous calligraphist of the later period.[6] He is said to have met his death at the age of 91 defending his house at the storming of Delhi by the British in 1857.

No. 71.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Āghā Mirzā, who was the most proficient pupil of Mīr Panjah Kash and died in 1274 A.H. (1857-58 A.D.).

No. 72.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal emperor (see No. 15).

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 65.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 61.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 61-2.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 111-2; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 9(*b*).

[5] *Ibid*, p. 68.

[6] *Ibid*. pp. 72-3; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 9(*a*).

No. 73.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Ḥāfiẓ 'Ibādullah. A calligraphist of this name was a pupil of Mīr Panjah Kash and court calligraphist of Bahādur Shāh II, but it is not known whether he was a *Ḥāfiẓ*. He had the titles of *I'jāz Raqam* and *Zamarrud Raqam*, and after the mutiny of 1857 was employed by the Rāja of Patiala.

No. 74.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and dated 1272 A.H. (1855-56 A.D.). It was written by Imām Verdī, who was a native of Persia but lived in Lahore about the middle of the 19th century A.D.

No. 75.—*Manāhiju-l-'Ibādānu-l-Mī'ād* with an illuminated heading and the interlineal spaces adorned throughout with gold, transcribed by Abu-l-Baqā al-Mūsvī. It is a work on Muḥammadan religion composed by Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, better known as Sa'īd of Farghāna.

No. 76.—*Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* of Amīr Khusrau with an illuminated *'unwān*, written on gold-sprinkled paper by Muḥammad Yūsuf. The colophon containing the date of transcription and the name of the scribe has been mischievously blotted out by somebody, making the former quite indistinct.

No. 77.—*Lailā Majnūn* of Maulānā 'Abdullah Hātifī and *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī (the latter written on the margin), with two double-page *'unwāns*, gold border lines and headings, and sixteen miniatures in Persian style.

No. 78.—*Mathnawī of Maulānā Rūm* written in four gold-ruled columns with a double-page *'unwān*. On the last page there is a seal impression of 'Abdu-s-Salām, the *Munṣarim* (keeper of the wardrobe) of the emperor 'Ālamgīr II, with an endorsement referring to the entry of the manuscript in the royal wardrobe.

No. 79.—*Dīwān of Mullā Shāh Badakhshī* with an illuminated heading written on gold-sprinkled paper in four ruled columns. Mullā Shāh was a native of Badakhshān and a disciple of Mīān Mīr, the well known saint of Shāhjahān's period. Prince Dārā Shikoh highly respected him and visited him on his tour to Kashmīr, where Mullā Shāh had taken his residence after the demise of Mīān Mīr.[1]

No. 80.—A *waṣlī* written by Aḥmad.

No. 81.—A *waṣlī* written by Muḥammad Fāzil.

No. 82.—A *waṣlī* written by 'Ubaidullah, Shīrīn Raqam.

No. 83.—A *waṣlī* written by Sayyid Ṣafdar 'Alī.

No. 84.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by *Nādiru-l-'Aṣr* (best of the age) Ustād Ḥaidar 'Alī.

No. 85.—A *waṣlī* written by Ḥāmid 'Alī.

No. 86.—A *waṣlī* written by 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr.

No. 87.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and written by 'Abbās.

No. 88.—An illuminated *waṣlī* written by Aḥmad Riẓā.

No. 89.—A *waṣlī* adorned with gold and written by Muḥammad Subḥān.

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[1] *Bādshāh Nāmah* by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867-68), vol. I, part II, p. 233; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale, pp. 278-9.

SPECIMENS OF THE SHIKASTA SCRIPT.

No. 90.—A *farmān* illuminated and mounted on a piece of cardboard like a *waṣlī*. It is dated 868 A.H. (1464 A.D.) and bears a seal impression of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad. who issued it in favour of Sayyid Shādī and Sayyid Sharfu-l-Mulk, confirming them as trustees of a shrine. Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, who was the grand-father of the emperor Bābar, reigned from 1452 to 1467 A.D.

No. 91.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 504*b*), a specimen of the writing of Darāyat Khān, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period (1658-1707 A.D.). His real name was 'Abdullah and *Darāyat Khān* was the title conferred upon him by the emperor Aurangzeb. His father, Muḥammad Ja'far, had the title of Kifāyat Khān and descended from Muḥammad Ḥusain, who is supposed to have introduced the *Shikasta* writing into India.[1]

No. 92.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 16*a*), a specimen of the writing of Muḥammad Sa'īd Anṣārī, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 93.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 77*a*), a specimen of the writing of Nawāb Ashraf Khān, who was a noble of the court of the emperors Shāh-jahān and Aurangzeb. His real name was Mīr Muḥammad Ashraf, and the title of Ashraf Khān was conferred upon him by Aurangzeb in the 4th year of his reign. He died in the year 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.).[2]

No. 94.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 84*b*), a specimen of the writing of Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad, a pupil of Nawāb Ashraf Khān, dated 1081 A.H. (1671-2 A.D.).

No. 95.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 290*a*), a specimen of the writing of Sayyid Aḥmad (see No. 49) who was a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 96.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 550*a*), a specimen of the writing of Muḥammad Na'īm of Iṣfahān (see No. 50), a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period. It is dated 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.).

No. 97.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 182*a*), a specimen of the writing of Mirzā Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Fiṭrat, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 98.—*Bayāẓ* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 584*a*), a specimen of the writing of an unknown calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 99.—A *waṣlī* dated 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.), and written by Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥusainī.

No. 100.—A *waṣlī* dated the 20th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1738 A.D.), and written by Murīd Khān Ṭabā Ṭabāī. Murīd Khān, whose real name was Muḥammad Ṣādiq, was a Sayyid by caste and a noble in the court of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48 A.D.). He was a good calligraphist, perfect in Shikasta writing, which he learnt from Darāyat Khān[3] (see No. 91).

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 105-6; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 11(*a*).

[2] *Maāthiru-l-Umarā* by Ṣamṣāmu-d-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1888-91), vol. I, pp. 272-4; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale, p. 82.

[3] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 107; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 11(*b*).

No. 101.—A *waṣlī* dated the 27th year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II (1785 A.D.), and written by Imāmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan. He was a pupil of Rāi Prem Nāth, who in his turn was a pupil of Murīd Khān Ṭabā Ṭabāī.[1]

No. 102.—A *waṣlī* dated 1223 A.H. (1808-9 A.D.) and written by Ḥayāt 'Alī, who was a pupil of Rāi Prem Nāth.[2]

A SPECIMEN OF THE ṬUGHRĀ SCRIPT.

No. 103.—A waṣlī written by Abū Ẓafar Sirāju-d-Dīn Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal emperor of Delhi (see No. 15). It may be noted that *Ṭughrā* is not an independent script, but is the name given to an ornamental writing in which the letters are so interwoven as to assume a decorative shape difficult to read.

A SPECIMEN OF THE GHUBĀR SCRIPT.

No. 104.—*Qurān* dated 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) and written by Ibrāhīm of Astrābād. Like "*Ṭughrā*", "*Ghubār*" also is not an independent script, but denotes thin writing (*Ghubār* literally meaning "dust"). The *Qurān* under notice is transcribed on a strip of paper 22′ 4″ in length by 3¾″ in width. It is written in very minute letters, and forms the ground which sets in relief the larger central script consisting of the attributes of God and certain pious ejaculations. A space of 3′ 5″ at the beginning is ornamented with gilded scroll work, and here the *Qurān* is written in the body of the larger letter of the central script. On the margin are given the names of *Sūras* with the number of verses they contain, as well as the number of *Juz* or parts into which the *Qurān* is divided.

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[1] *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 113 and 114; *Ḥālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 12(*a*) and (*b*).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 113. *Idem*, folio 12(*b*).

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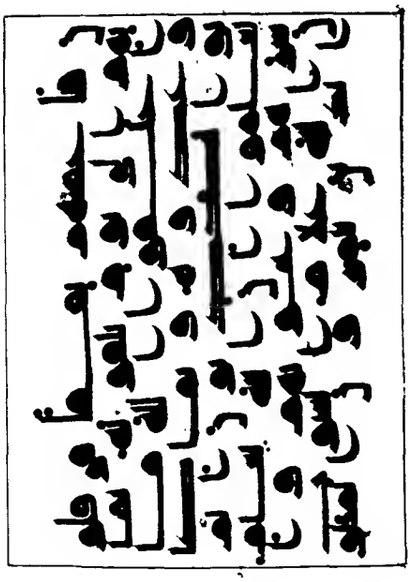

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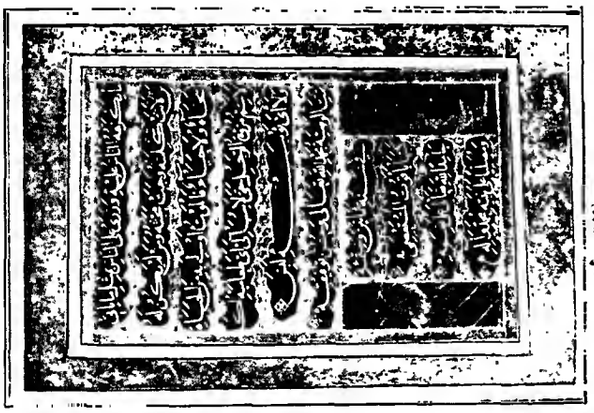

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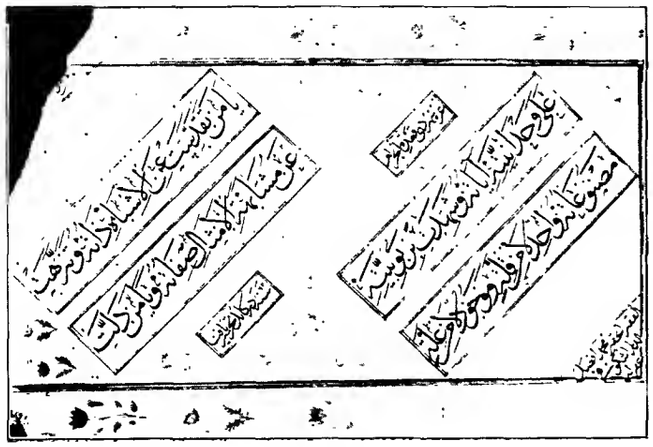

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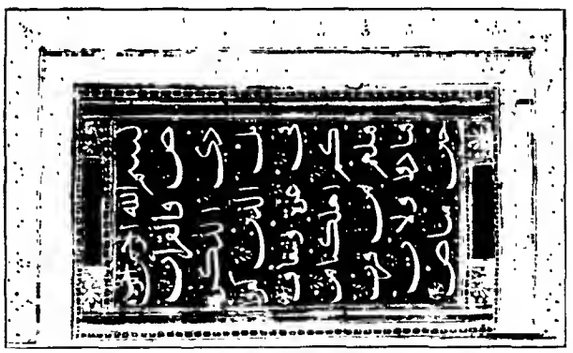

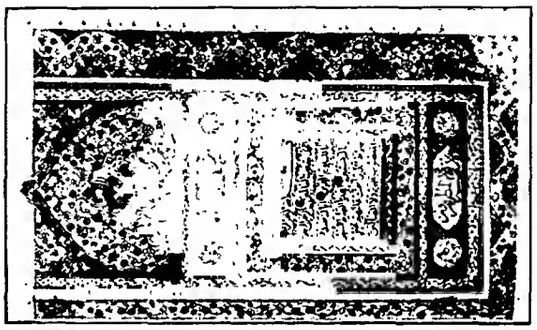

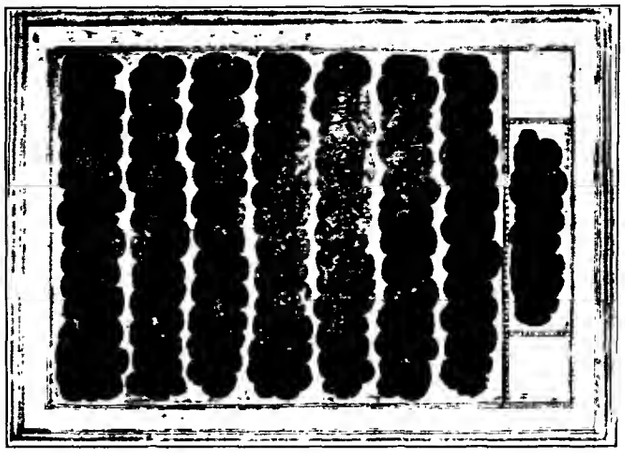

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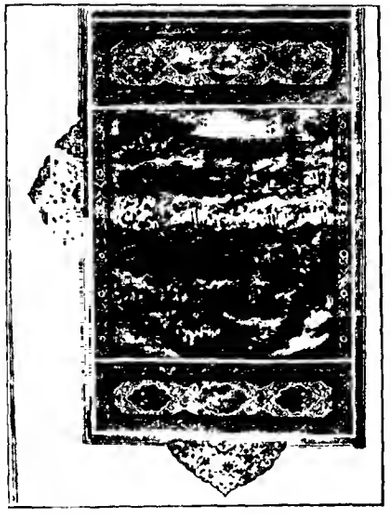

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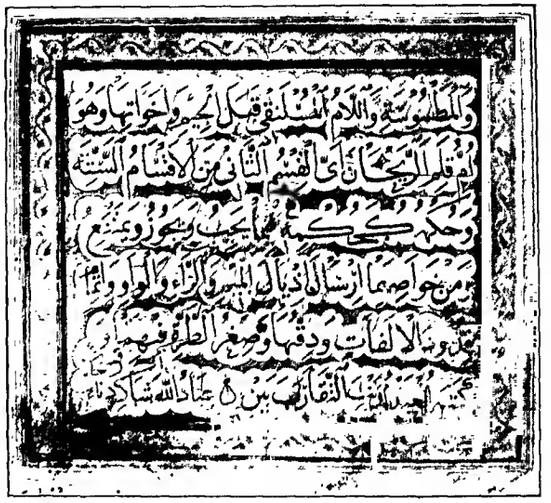

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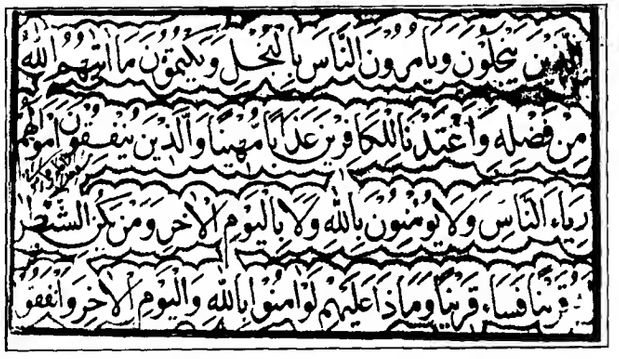

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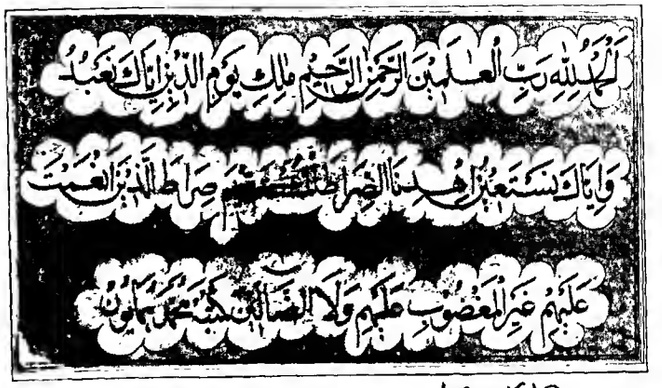

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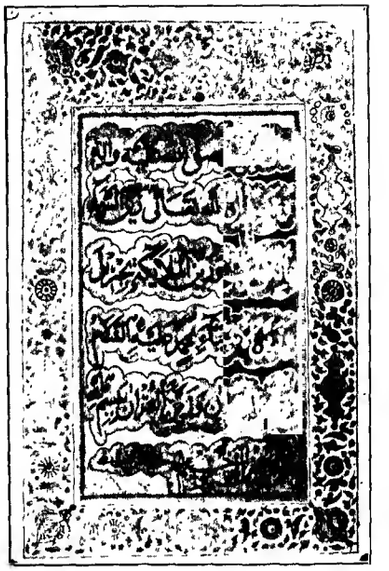

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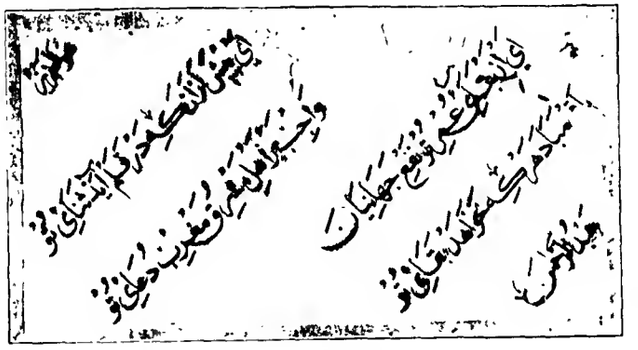

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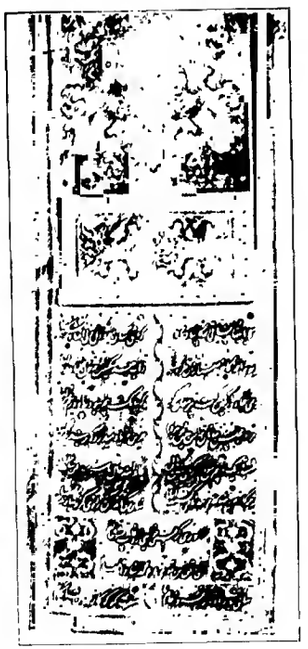

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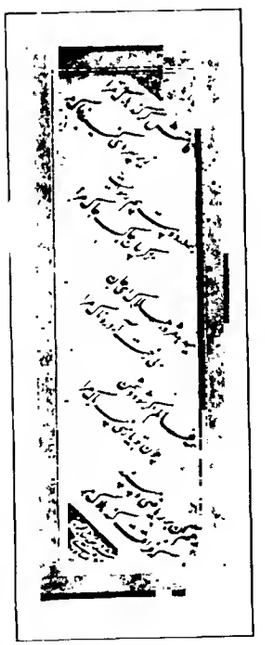

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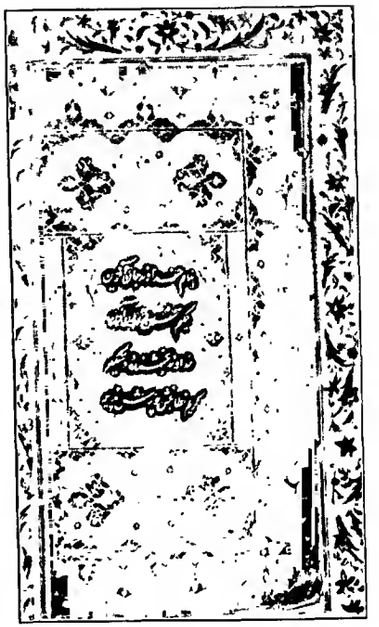

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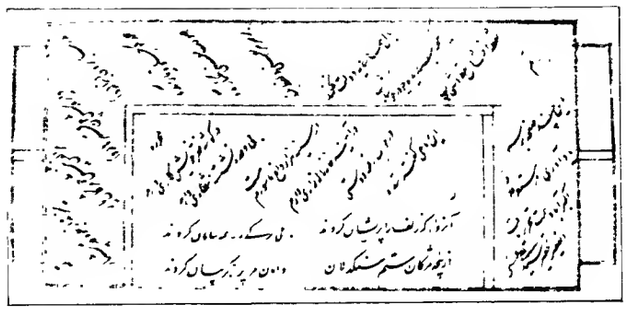

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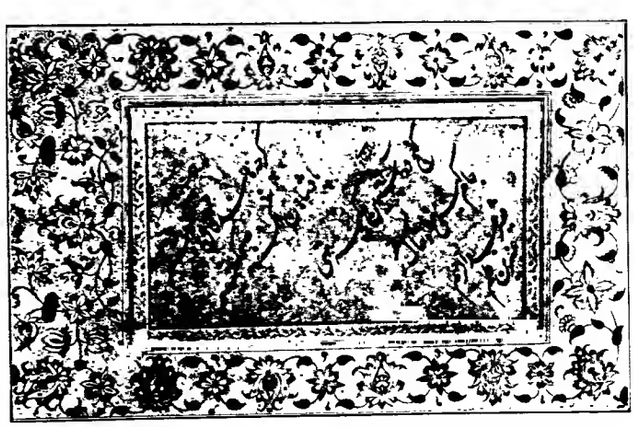

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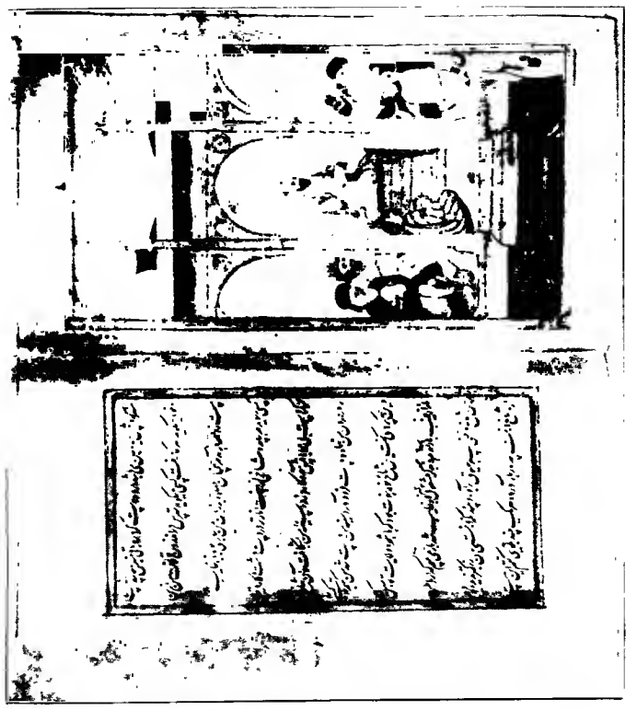

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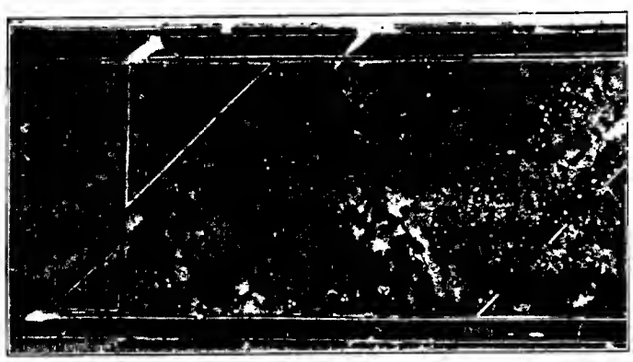

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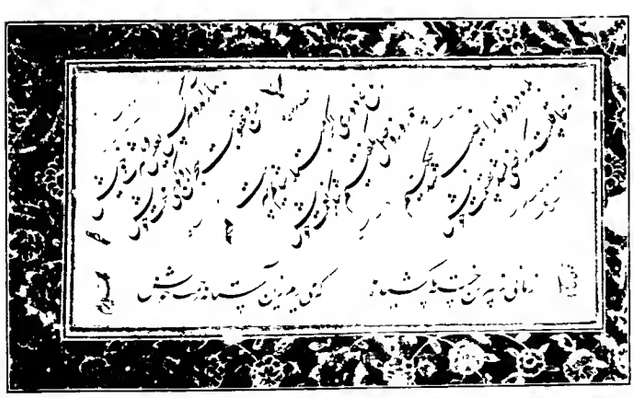

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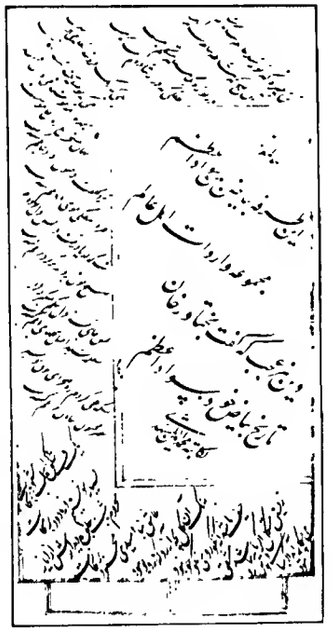

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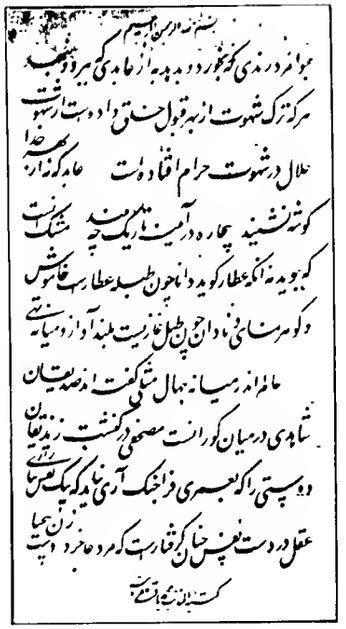

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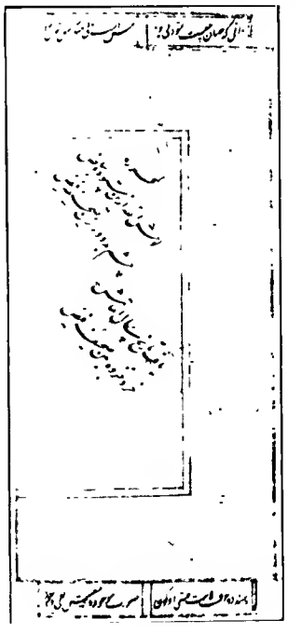

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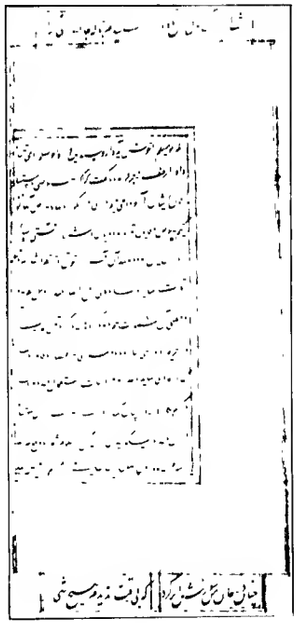

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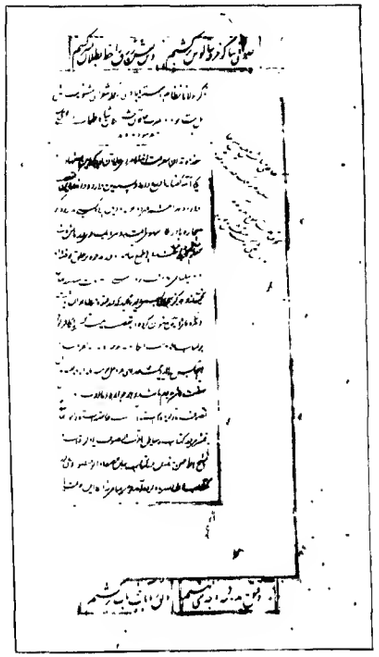

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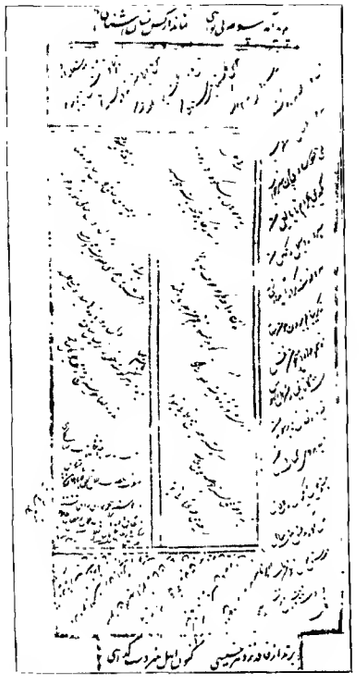

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SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

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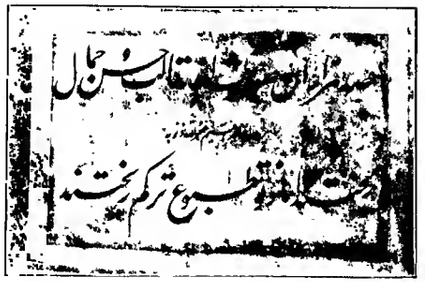

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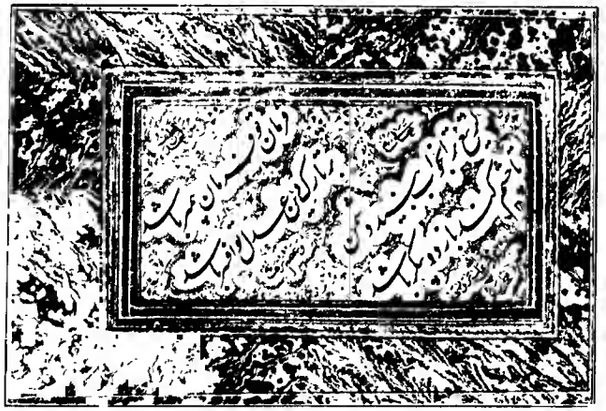

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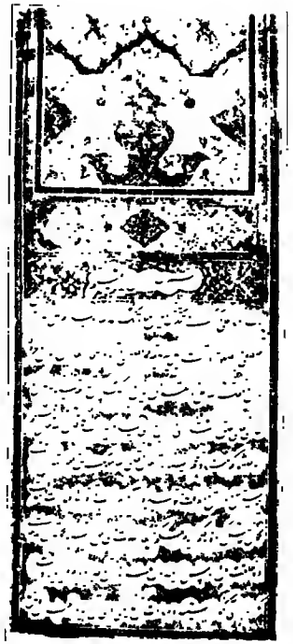

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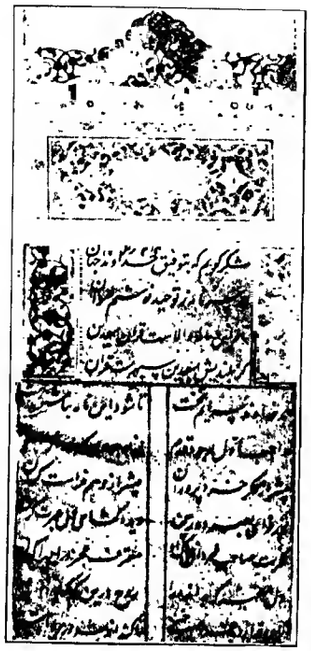

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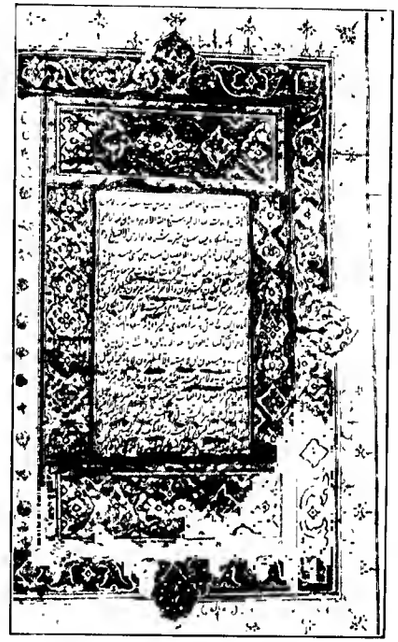

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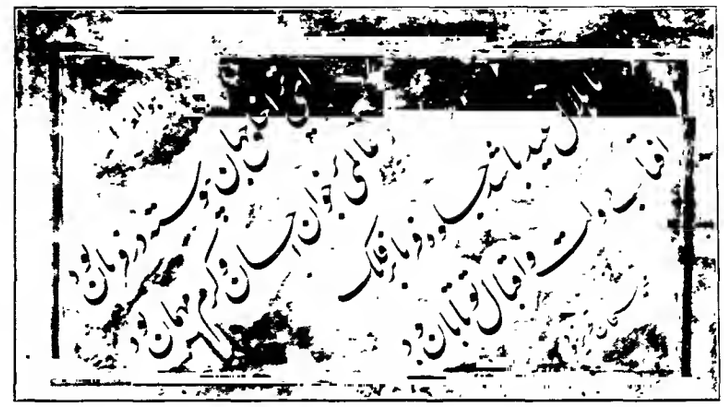

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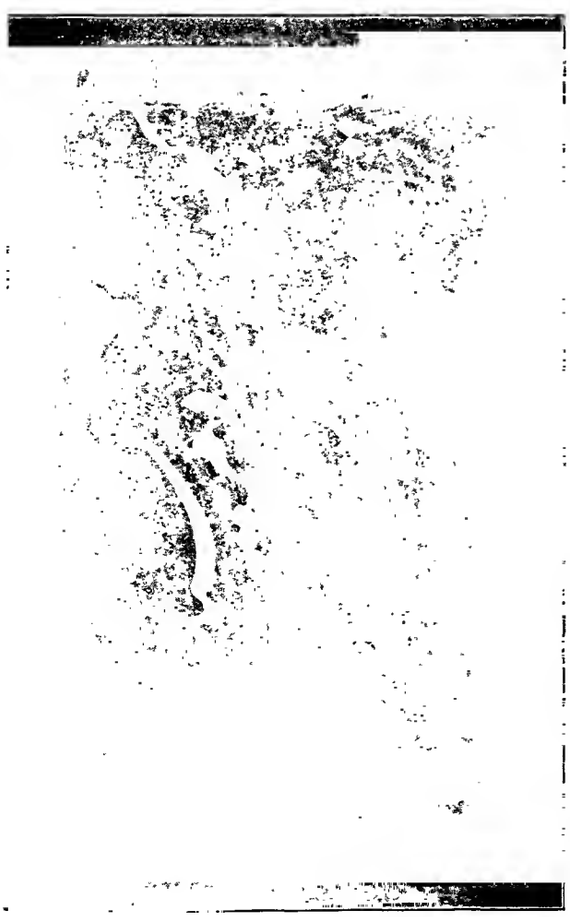

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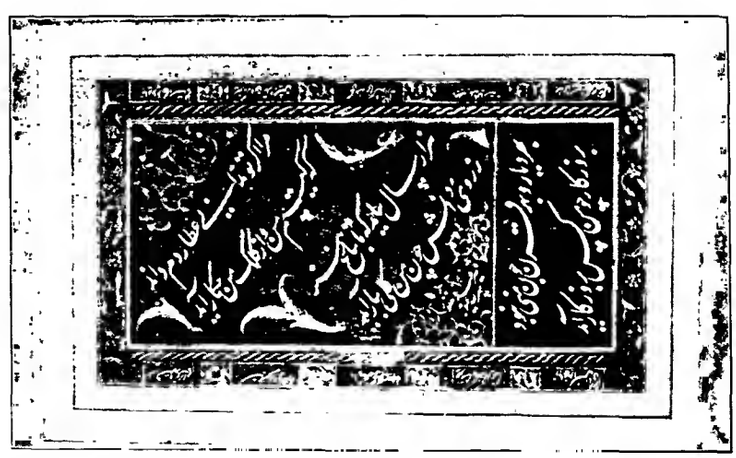

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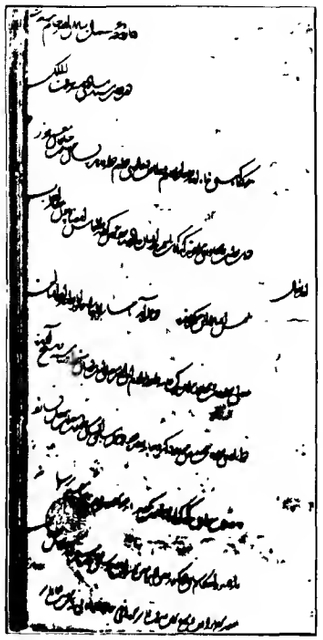

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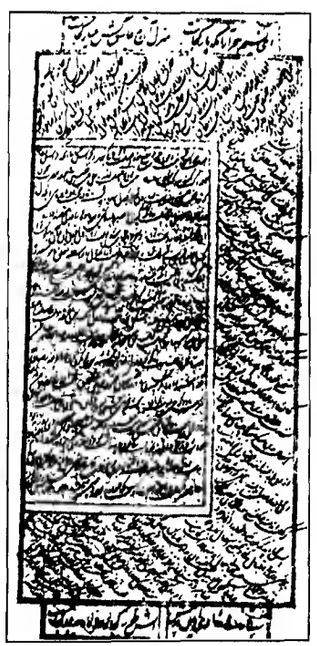

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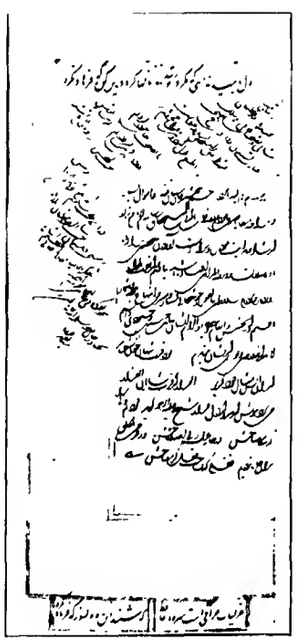

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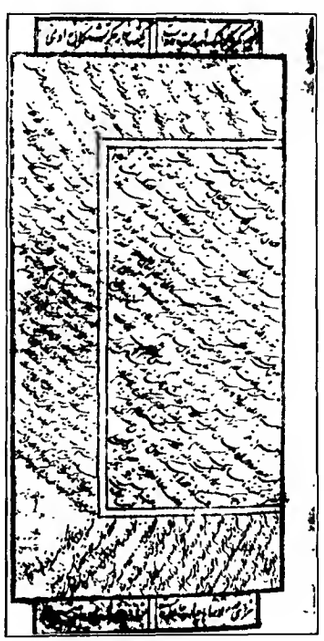

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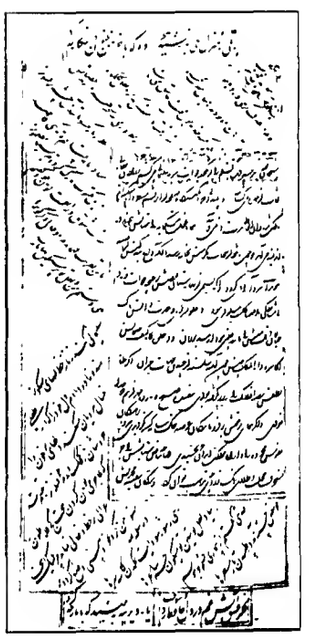

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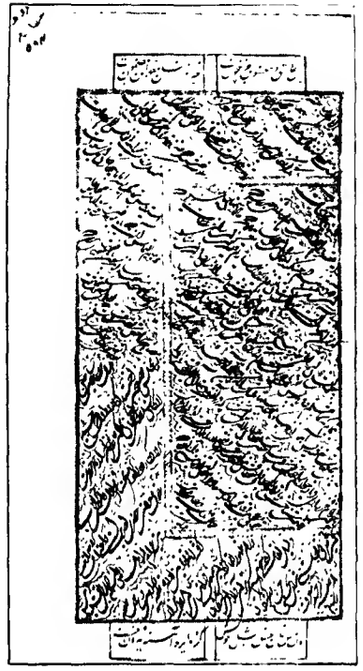

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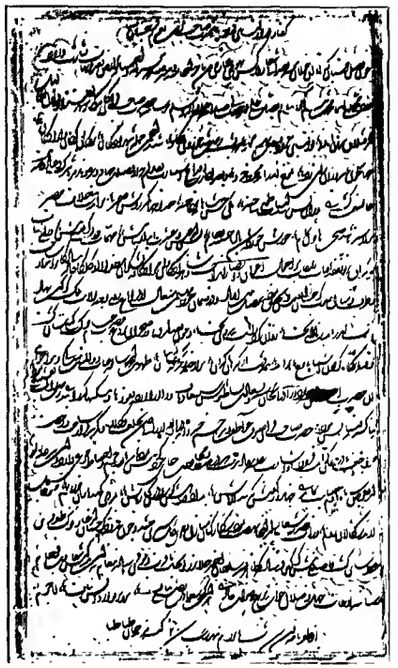

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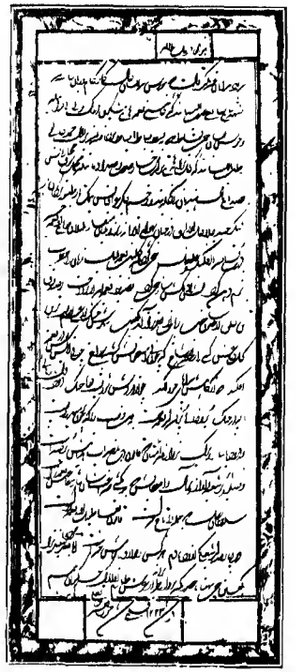

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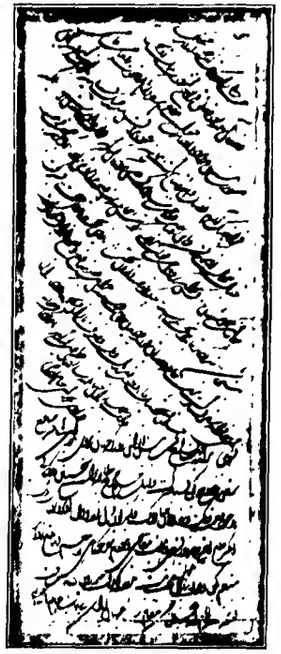

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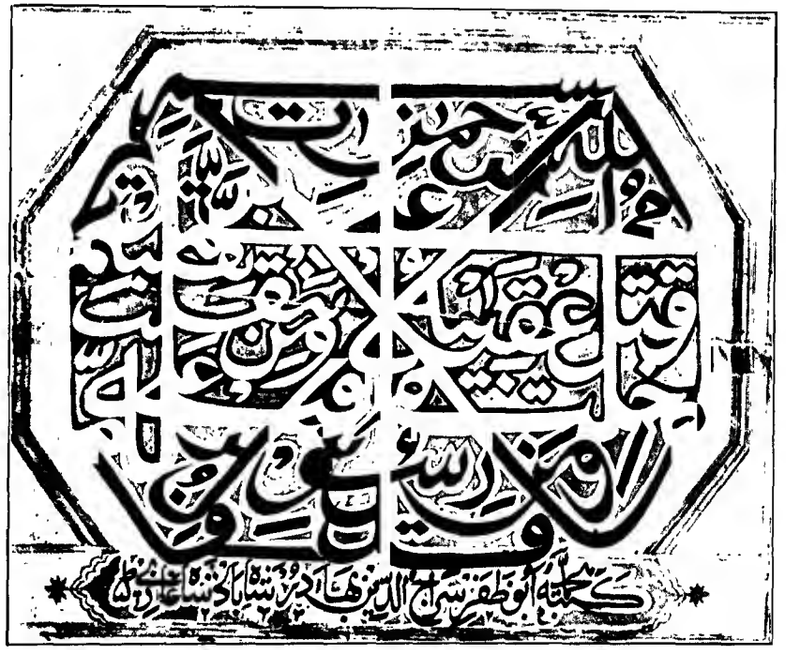

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